St Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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346 by a large and sumptuous church, in which the first Mass was celebrated in 1722. The magnificence of the church is still present, although the original altars have been replaced by [532] new ones. Exquisite tiles depicting the life of St. Anthony, to whom the church is dedicated, line the sides of the church. The floors are of marble, and the wooden ceilings are painted [322] in oils. It is said that the marble and the painted ceilings were brought from Portugal. The woodwork in the choir loft and [805] sacristy is beautiful hand-worked rosewood. The clock in the bell tower which rings the hour and half-hour is still the town timepiece, its sound reaching far out over the Bay. Under the marble floor, between the altar and the communion rail, are [764] the tombs of the early families of Vila Recôncavo. The names inscribed on the tombs constitute a roster of families now scattered throughout the nation.

175 It is not known exactly when the Tertiary Order of Franciscans was first formed in Vila Recôncavo, but it too has left
• 792 its mark on the face of the town, for it constructed another large church and two-story building at the side of the convent.
346 The chronicler of the convent in the early 1900's wrote:

> Of the epoch of the formation of the Tertiary Order and the construction of the church and buildings nothing remains, not a document exists, with the exception of one book, consisting of the elections, offices, and resolutions of the Order. This book was begun in 1853 and ended in 1866. On the ceiling of the church appears the date 1751, in white paint, which seems to be of the original workmanship, and at the side of it can be seen in black paint "repaired in 1844." The lands of the Order are known only through the tradition of the people, since no document exists.[6]

If the date 1751 can be taken as the date of the construction of the church of the Tertiary Order, it can be assumed that the Order existed in Vila Recôncavo some time before this date, at least early in the 1700's. These additions to the convent were the last of the noble constructions in the town of Vila Recôncavo and took place at the end of the town's flourishing period. They were the last public expression of grandeur in the

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6. Author's translation.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which will be discussed later.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the newly created seat of local government, a military post, a highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a sítio (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion. As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found an abundance of the rich massapê lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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7. Luís dos Santos Vilhena, Notícias soteropolitanas e brasílicas, 1802, ed. Braz do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind. [361] [574]

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can. [871] [204] [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793 [792]

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 6 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest. 79

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead. 79 764

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people. 792. 794 795 [162]

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in 792

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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794 1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the So-
747 ciety of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

796 The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based
[184] on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an im-
[793] portant date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and
796 blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date
794 when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua
782 locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the
776 cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult
[822] priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usu-
[787] ally sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin. At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *camara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Noticias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28. [75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ery.[78] As early as Independence Day, 1851, the Benedictine friar, Francisco da Natividade Carneiro da Cunha, preached a sermon in the Bahian Cathedral in which he urged Bahians "to complete Brazilian independence by gradually emancipating the slaves."[79] Monsenhor Joaquim Pinto de Campos attacked slavery in sermons as early as 1856, in one of which, preached before the Sociedade Ypiranga, he said: "Humanity is one, and all of its parts have equal rights. The public conscience, which is the voice of God re-echoing in the souls of the people, is always repelled by favoritism in the distribution of liberty."

Canon Rodrigo de Souza Menezes, in the columns of *O Horizonte* as early as 1872, and in a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 2, 1883, vigorously attacked slavery and advocated its abolition throughout Brazil. Another Bahian canon, Dr. Romualdo Maria de Seixas Barroso, wrote many abolition articles for the newspapers, among them one addressed especially to Bahian women; and in his will, probated in 1886, he declared: "I have always considered it a crime to draw up a contract for the buying and selling of any human being—he who is my own brother and who may be redeemed, as I, by the blood of the Savior of mankind."[80]

The bishop of Olinda, on March 25, 1887, wrote a pastoral letter urging his clergy to free immediately their

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 35. The archbishop said: "I have always been persuaded that the word 'slavery' calls up images of all vices and all crimes; and that the word 'liberty' calls out the ideas and the sentiments attendent upon all virtue and all good. Always I have maintained that slavery is a harmful condition which destroys the spirit, weakens the faculties of understanding, and perverts the heart."

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[79] "Public opinion was aroused against the words of Friar Carneiro. Upon his descending from the pulpit, one of his relatives asked him if he had lost his reason" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-83).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 384-88.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and caboclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

I have seen many Negroes
At the altar in the act of saying Mass
And the caboclo, all that he achieves
Is to be usher.

*563 •792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and caboclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 562 792 178 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 793 [829] There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclesiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theological seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an [874] increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/ Sports

*563 526 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil, whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 526 575 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a